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ABSTRACT

This paper draws on data from a longitudinal comparative study of languages policy in New Zealand and Victoria, Australia, to explore the nature of school programs in languages other than English. After describing some theoretical considerations that underlie the main study, the paper presents two hypotheses that might explain the situation of languages in schools and outlines the methods used to explore these. Hypothesis One proposes that language programs are related to dominant group views of the cultured person. Hypothesis Two proposes that more recent developments are instrumentally driven. The situation in New Zealand is then described and discussed. This section includes the views of language teachers and secondary school principals based on two surveys carried out in 1991. This is followed by a brief overview of languages in schools in Victoria, and a discussion that compares the two situations. The New Zealand evidence supports Hypothesis One, but shows that factors other than jobs or other instrumental reasons are very important in contemporary programs. This paper concludes with a preliminary sketch of a model to explain these programs and some ideas for future research. (Contains 33 references.) (Author/JL)

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Languages in Schools: Policy and Practice

Roger A. Peddie

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LANGUAGES IN SCHOOLS: POLICY AND PRACTICE

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ABSTRACT

This paper draws on data from a longitudinal comparative study of languages policy in New Zealand and Victoria, Australia, to explore the nature of school programmes in languages other than English. After describing some theoretical considerations which underlie the main study, the paper presents two hypotheses which might explain the situation of languages in schools and outlines the methods used to explore these.

Hypothesis One proposes that language programs are related to dominant group views of the cultured person. Hypothesis Two proposes that more recent developments are instrumentally driven. The situation in New Zealand is then described and discussed. This section includes the views of language teachers and secondary school principals based on two surveys carried out in 1991. This is followed by a brief overview of languages in schools in Victoria, and a discussion which compares the two situations. The New Zealand evidence supports Hypothesis One, but shows that factors other than jobs or other instrumental reasons are very important in contemporary programs. The paper concludes with a preliminary sketch of a model to explain these programs, and some ideas for future research.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most critical areas affected by a national languages

policy is education. Such policies typically cover the role of the national language(s), corpus issues, and priorities for the promotion of community and international languages. Successful policy implementation very often depends on the provision of appropriate educational programmes. Within education, the role of primary and secondary schools is arguably paramount. Yet the school language situation in some countries appears to be quite removed from either national policies or national needs.

This paper examines languages in New Zealand schools in terms of policy and practice, comparing the findings with the school situation in Victoria, Australia. A broader aim is to begin exploring the nature of the links between state policies, the language "needs" of a society, and what actually happens in schools. The data are drawn from a longitudinal comparative study of languages policy development and [1] implementation in New Zealand and Victoria.

THEORY AND METHOD

Theoretical Considerations

The longitudinal study from which data have been drawn for the present paper has three main aims. First, it aims to explore aspects of theory in comparative education. The second aim is to compare and contrast the development and implementation of languages policy in New Zealand and Victoria with a view to providing some explanation of differences and similarities found. Thirdly, the study aims to assess, analyse and assist with language policy development in New Zealand (Peddie, 1991d).

Underlying the longitudinal study is the current reality of educational policy development in New Zealand. Governments regularly borrow educational policies and strategies from other countries, with very mixed success. In recent years, the pace and extent of this "naïve borrowing" (Holmes, 1981), seems to have increased.

In New Zealand, increased borrowing possibly results from at least three factors. First, there seems to be an increasing tendency

for government ministers and senior officials to travel overseas specifically to examine the policies of other countries. This travel can readily be justified if new policies are implemented as a result. Secondly, the current economic depression has led to government criticism of education (Peddie, 1991b). Successive governments have then been quick to implement new policies in education as a way of showing how effectively they can resolve these problems. Thirdly, the rapid adoption internationally of New Right policies has been accompanied by wholesale borrowing among these countries. In New Zealand, the New Right approach to school-based organization has been accompanied not only by a rhetoric of free choice and competition but justified by the "success" of similar policies overseas (Peddie, 1991b).

In the longitudinal study, comparative education is viewed as having both theoretical and applied goals. A problem-solving approach has been used in the study as a theoretical model. A major purpose of this approach is to provide better policy analysis (and advice) for those seeking to reproduce the policies of other countries/states within their own educational systems.

The problem-solving approach to comparative education is most closely associated with the work of British comparativist Brian Holmes (Holmes, 1965, 1981, 1985). The modified five-step version of Holmes' approach used in the longitudinal study may be summarised as follows.

1. Establish the nature of the educational problem;
2. Determine possible policy options;
3. Establish the "initial context" in which the problem is located;
4. Analyze the logical outcomes of applying various policy options (in the country with the problem);
5. Based on steps 1-4, develop the best possible policy advice to resolve the problem under review (Peddie, 1991d).

The broader problem relating to which the present paper can

contribute is "Which languages *should* be used and/or taught in schools?" This presupposes prior questions such as who should make these decisions. In systems like New Zealand and (to an even greater extent) Victoria, individual schools have at least some say over their curriculum. In such cases there is a serious question as to what extent central government *can* prescribe and/or make centralised decisions about language. Such decisions could compromise the "institutional autonomy" which is proclaimed as a cornerstone of New Right education policies.

This paper provides a preliminary understanding of why New Zealand schools are teaching the languages they teach, and what influences their decisions to do so. In terms of the problem-solving approach just outlined, the results should help to clarify the nature of the educational problem (step 1) and aspects of the initial context (step 3). Comparative data from Victoria are then used to test whether the understanding gained from the New Zealand data lends itself to a more general explanatory pattern. This will assist in a full problem-solving analysis, particularly when the logical consequences of adopting overseas policies is being examined (step 4).

As a way of focusing the analysis, two research hypotheses were generated. The first is based on a broad consideration of curriculum history in English-speaking nations. This reveals that secondary schools have until very recently tended to concentrate on subjects valued by the middle and upper classes of society, rather than "useful" subjects (Goodson, 1987; Williams, 1961). At the same time, the educational history of the same countries shows little evidence of languages in (at least state) primary schools since the advent of mass primary education in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

Hypothesis One

That traditional language teaching in secondary schools reflects the model of a cultured individual held by the dominant ethnic and class group in that society; but that primary school language

programmes are unlikely to reflect such a model.

In recent years, the increasing pressure from governments and business for secondary schools to be more "relevant" and to respond more appropriately to the economic needs of society has increased (cf. below). Observation suggested initially that this was having some effect on secondary school language programmes. Meanwhile, primary schools have begun to be much more aware of cultural issues, including language, in the school community. They have not faced the same "economic" pressures as secondary schools, although they have been subject to a related pressure to produce highly literate students for secondary schooling.

Hypothesis Two

That developments in secondary school language programmes since the economic downturn of the late 1970s reflect a move towards instrumentalism in school curriculum; but that developments in the primary school are more likely to reflect community patterns and interests.

Methods and Procedures

The longitudinal study (1986-92) has involved a variety of data-gathering procedures which cannot easily be classified into a single "methodology" (see Peddie, 1991d for further details). Broadly speaking, the methodology could be classified as semi-ethnographic and interactive, involving visits, interviews, analysis of documents, observations and discussions, as well as surveys by questionnaire.

In New Zealand, data collection has been relatively unstructured, but nonetheless wide-ranging. The researcher has been Research Officer on the National Executive of the New Zealand Association of Language Teachers (NZALT) since 1981, and has been closely involved in monitoring a number of issues affecting school languages. In this connection, he has also conducted several studies on school languages teaching in New

Zealand (Peddie, 1984a, 1984b, 1985, 1986, 1990; and cf. below).

In 1989, the researcher was the independent evaluator of a trial assessment scheme for sixth form (Year 11) students, a project which involved working with seventeen secondary schools (Peddie, 1990). In late 1990 a second longitudinal study was begun on junior secondary school curriculum. This study has included a national survey and subsequent case study work with nine secondary schools located around New Zealand. One focus of the study concerns languages in the junior classes of the schools.

In 1991, two postal surveys were conducted to gain the opinions of language teachers and of secondary school principals on a variety of language issue. The almost identical survey forms were brief, but covered issues on compulsory language study, the place of te reo Maori (Maori language), programmes in teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL), and issues in languages policy (cf. Appendix).

The teachers' questionnaire was sent in July 1991 to all individual members of NZALT, the vast majority of whom are secondary school teachers of languages other than English or te reo Maori (LOTEM). Eventually, 235, or 96% of all questionnaires were returned and supplied usable data. These questionnaires played an important role in the NZALT submission to government on the development of a national languages policy *Languages For All* 1991).

The principals' questionnaire was sent in September, 1991 to a random sample of 100 representing approximately 25% of New Zealand secondary school principals. A follow-up letter was sent after about two and a half weeks, and local principals who had not replied were phoned by a research assistant. Despite the fact that the questionnaire arrived simultaneously with a major government policy announcement on bulk funding options for schools, two-thirds of the sample responded almost immediately, and ninety-five of the 100 questionnaires were eventually returned. This suggests that language is an issue of real concern.

Five further visits have been made to Victoria after the study began in late 1986. The shortest visit was two and a half weeks,

while the longest over three months. Data has been gathered (among many other things), on languages in the three "systems" of Victorian primary and secondary education - the government schools, the Catholic system, and the independent schools. Seven case study schools have been visited four or five times, while a range of other schools have also been visited. In each school, unstructured interviews have been conducted with (usually) the principal and language co-ordinators or teachers. As well, regular interviews have been conducted with Ministry officers and with people in a range of government and other organisations related to language, education and multiculturalism.

In both countries, the researcher has monitored policy documents, reports, and statistics on languages in schools. Discussion of these documents has often been part of the case study work and the interviews described above.

LANGUAGES IN SCHOOLS: NEW ZEALAND

Historical Outline

Language was an important aspect of the very earliest schools set up by missionaries after Europeans began arriving in New Zealand. From the time of the first school at Rangihoua in 1816, English was taught to Maori children, although much of the day's lessons was conducted in te reo Maori. The reverse situation did not arise when church and other private (primary) schools were set up for Pakeha (white) settlers. Teaching in these schools was exclusively in English.

When the first secondary schools opened in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Latin, Ancient Greek and French figured prominently on the curriculum of boys' schools, while French and sometimes Latin, German and Italian were offered to girls (Cumming and Cumming, 1978). This trend continued in secondary schools well into the first half of the twentieth century (Murdoch, 1943). By the late 1930s, Murdoch reports that just under a third of all secondary pupils were studying two foreign

languages, while 75% studied French (1943:91).

The dominance of languages did not occur just in the public and private secondary schools. A major expansion in secondary education from the late nineteenth century came through the district high school, a secondary section added to a primary school. Yet although the intention was to make these schools much more practical than the very academic secondary schools, almost all of the district highs offered Latin and French, while very few offered (for example) woodwork.

Up until the 1960s, a language was required for a number of university courses, a feature which had a flow™ down effect onto secondary curriculum. Latin was originally compulsory for the Matriculation examination giving entry to university. A foreign language was required for a Bachelor of Arts, Latin was required for Law, and at one stage Medicine (Murdoch, 1943; Peddie, 1984b).

From the mid-1960s, languages in secondary schools went into decline. Although new languages were introduced, the overall numbers fell steadily. There were a variety of reasons for this, among them the lifting of compulsion and the introduction of new course arrangements (Peddie, 1984b).

Meanwhile, little was happening in languages in primary schools. Some "linkage" schemes were tried in the 1950s and 60s, in which a (mainly French) programme was set up between the languages department of a secondary school and one or more teachers in a nearby intermediate school (Forms I and II/ Years 6 and 7). Such schemes were rarely successful or long-lasting. A few more primary schools began offering te reo Maori in the 1960s and 70s, but typically a primary school student would be exposed only to English.

Recent language-specific developments to the early 1980s can be summarised as follows. Latin declined sharply both in importance and student numbers. French numbers dropped steadily, but it remained the most popular language after English. Te reo Maori began to increase in importance in both primary and secondary schools. The first signs of an upsurge in Japanese became evident following a fairly static enrolment in the decade after its introduction in 1967 (*Education Statistics of New Zealand*

(annual), henceforth *ESNZ*; Peddie, 1984b).

Hypothesis One: Discussion

The first hypothesis proposes that, historically, languages in schools would reflect the model of a cultured individual held by the dominant group in society. This certainly appears to be the case in New Zealand. The early secondary schools were few in number and elitist by reputation (Murdoch, 1943). Those who attended were almost exclusively white Europeans, particularly in the nineteenth century. Maoris began attending their own (denominational) secondary schools in greater numbers from the early years of the twentieth century and did sometimes attend district high schools and other secondary schools. Over this century, Maori attendance in standard secondary schools became the norm, but even in the 1990s, retention rates for Maori are much lower than for other groups (ESNZ).

The model then was a Pakeha (European) ideal, that of an English gentleman and his well-bred wife.[2] As part of that ideal, the gentleman studied the classics and the international language of diplomacy - French - while his lady acquired the culture of French, with perhaps some Italian or German. There was no question of either studying te reo Maori.

Small but significant groups of migrants had arrived in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from a variety of non-English-speaking backgrounds (NESB), including Yugoslavia, China and Scandinavia. In line with the ideal, none of their languages found their way into the school curriculum (Peddie, 1991a). The language picture, therefore, appears to have been dominated by issues of culture and tradition and certainly not by community needs. Economic needs were not a major issue; Britain was by far New Zealand's largest trading partner. At the same time, it should not be overlooked that French was an international language widely used in diplomacy, trade, and the social circles to which some wealthy New Zealanders aspired.

Perhaps just as significant were the ways in which secondary

schools arranged their programmes down to the 1960s. Apart from the small group of technical schools which appeared in the first half of this century, most secondary schools arranged their courses as follows. The top ability groups, commonly selected by standardised verbal/mathematical IQ tests from the 1940s (Shuker, 1987), studied Latin and French; the middle groups learned French; and the technical and homecraft streams did no foreign language at all. As is widely recognised internationally, such grouping generally results in those from professional and managerial classes being overwhelmingly represented in the higher streams. Studying two languages, therefore, could be construed as a mark of class and intellectual superiority.

Primary schools offered mass education. Te reo Maori was not thought to be important by the dominant English group, and it seems to have been viewed as inappropriate or unnecessary for primary school children to learn another language. The rare exceptions were some of the two-year intermediate schools after they were firmly established in the 1930s, and the "prep" schools for some private secondary schools. French was sometimes taught in intermediate schools, while a few of the prep schools also offered Latin.

One final factor needs to be mentioned here. In New Zealand, secondary teachers in general and languages teachers in particular have always been people with university degrees. The universities tended to offer courses in languages similar to those found in traditional British universities. Hence, any attempt to introduce new languages into the school system on a wide scale could fail simply through a lack of suitably qualified teachers.

Historically, the first hypothesis appears to be supported by the New Zealand data, with the last point about the availability of qualified teachers added as a form of rider. The languages taught (and originally many of the teachers) came from Europe. But even more importantly they were the traditionally taught languages of culture: Latin, Ancient Greek, French, Italian, and - somewhat later in coming to prominence - German. On the other hand, the main

migrant groups present by the mid-twentieth century included Scandinavians, Chinese, Dutch and Dalmatians, while the Maori population was beginning to assert its presence more strongly. The arrival of large numbers of Pacific Island peoples in the 1970s did almost nothing to change school programmes.

The Current Scene

In the ten years from 1980 the situation in secondary schools has changed considerably, with some signs of major change also emerging in primary schools. This section summarises languages in schools in 1990, the last year for which full published data are available (ESNZ, 1991).

Two points should be noted by way of introduction. First, secondary schooling lasts five years in New Zealand, beginning in Form III (Year 8). Secondly, the non-government sector in New Zealand education is very small by comparison with that of Victoria where in 1991 32.8% of students were in non-government schools, 10.1% of whom were in independent schools. The New Zealand Catholic schools are fully integrated into the government system, while legally retaining their "special character". Prior to their late 1970s integration they had in any case proportionately far fewer students than in Victoria.

In 1990, the 135 remaining independent private schools in New Zealand had approximately 3.8% of primary and secondary students. Languages have traditionally been stronger in the more elitist private schools, a point which both links well with Hypothesis One, and which should be borne in mind when making comparisons between New Zealand and Victoria.

By 1990, the New Zealand primary school system still offered little in the way of language teaching. In the upper years of primary, in both full primary and intermediate schools (Forms I and II), a few classes studied elementary French, and one or two schools reportedly offered other languages such as Esperanto.

About fifteen primary schools are either officially bilingual in English and te reo Maori, or they are kura kaupapa Maori

schools run by Maoris and teaching in te reo Maori with full regard for Maori customs and learning traditions. A growing number of regular primary schools also have studies in Maori language and culture. It is reportedly rare, however, for such programmes to have language teaching for the three hours a week which is considered an adequate minimum in Victoria.

The overall picture of languages studied in secondary schools is presented in Table One.

	Form III	Forms IV-VII	Total	%
English[1]	52,922 [2]	171,722	224,644	97.6
te reo Maori	9,313	10,157	19,470	8.5
French	15,554	13,410	28,964	12.6
Japanese	6,186	6,256	12,442	5.4
German[3]	3,883	5,125	9,008	3.9
Latin	1,789	1,439	3,228	1.4
Spanish	42	226	268	.1
Pacific Islands languages[4]	132	60	192	.1
Russian	56	121	177	.1
Indonesian	76	74	150	.1
Chinese	0	2	2	.0
All Students	52,922	177,234	230,156	100.0

Notes:

1. English is not compulsory after the first year in Form V.
2. This adjusts the figure in *ESNZ*, which for some reason exceeded the number of third form students.
3. For unknown reasons, German has traditionally been offered at Form IV or later in some schools.
4. The languages taught include Samoan, Tongan and Cook Islands Maori.

Table 1: Languages Studied in NZ Secondary Schools, 1990. Source: ESNZ,1991.

Several figures in Table One are worthy of comment. First, of the 8.5% who were studying te reo Maori, nearly half were non-Maori, and a similar proportion (48%) were studying the language in the first year of the secondary school. Both points are significant. When compared with the total numbers of Maori students in secondary schools (34,586 in 1990), the first shows that fewer than one in three was studying te reo Maori. The second point is significant as many schools now offer "taster" courses of half a year or less to all of the students in Form III (Year 8) for subjects not compulsory in terms of the state's core curriculum. As languages are not compulsory, they are often offered in part-year courses, inflating the numbers of students in statistical returns (Peddie, 1984b, 1991e). Nevertheless, the published Form III figures are still very useful as an accurate indication of which languages are taken at some stage of a student's schooling.

French remains the most commonly studied language after English, both in the first and in subsequent years. The numbers taking French have however dropped steadily from over 40,000 in the late 1970s. The numbers for Japanese have risen sharply since the early 1980s after being relatively stable at fewer than 2,000 up until 1982. The total for 1990 is in fact more than double the corresponding figure for 1987, and indications are that the rise has continued in 1991 and 1992.

Since the late 1970s, enrolments in German have fluctuated between 8-9,000 without a clear trend emerging. Russian and Indonesian have been traditionally strong in just a handful of schools, leading to minor fluctuations in numbers year by year. Latin continues to decline, although less rapidly than in earlier years. In 1990 it was still taught in 50 out of approximately 400 secondary schools in New Zealand.

The numbers in Chinese have definitely risen since 1990, although the language is taught as yet in only a few schools. One of the critical factors in the slow development of this language is that there is no national examination available. It is clear in both this example and from earlier experiences that the chances of a language succeeding in more than one or two schools depends in part on examination opportunities being made available.

It is not clear what has happened to Pacific Island languages in 1991, but in 1990 only three schools were offering such a language, a surprising fact when it is considered that an estimated 6% of all secondary students are from a Pacific Islands ethnic group. As with Chinese, however, there have been no moves in national examinations, while at the university level the first courses in Pacific Islands languages only began (in Wellington) in 1989.

Overall, the statistics show that fewer than two-thirds of New Zealand secondary students get any exposure to a language other than English. In new (compulsory) core curriculum proposals released in mid-1991, languages were seen as something to be available and encouraged (The National Curriculum of New Zealand, 1991). Despite a ministerial statement strongly implying that languages would be compulsory, it is very likely they will remain optional (Peddie, 1991c).

Hypothesis Two: Discussion

The second hypothesis proposes that recent developments in school languages are the result of a greater curriculum focus on economic and other instrumental factors. The extent to which both the statistical and other data support that hypothesis is now explored.

First, recent statistics from *ESNZ* show that the overall proportion of students studying a language other than English (LOTE) has remained relatively constant since the late 1970s. Considerable rises in the numbers taking te reo Maori and Japanese have counterbalanced the drop in French and Latin. The percentage of students studying all other languages (most of whom study German), has never exceeded 5%. The discussion which follows, therefore will focus on Latin, French, Japanese and te reo Maori.

Latin and French, as explained earlier, were considered to be the languages of culture, appropriate and even desirable for an educated person well into the mid-twentieth century. Popular attacks on both languages for not being "useful" have a long history in New Zealand. While organizations like NZALT

occasionally managed press releases defending the teaching of languages as an integral part of a sound education, the popular view expressed by parents has been that traditional languages are a waste of time. The loss of over 15,000 students since the late 1970s suggests that these views are being translated into action. For most of this period, also, secondary rolls were rising.

The decline in both subjects, however, began somewhat earlier. In 1968, 30.9% of all students in Forms IV-VII (Years 9-12), studied French (Kooznetzoff, 1974). By the early 1980s this percentage had declined to about 10%, and by 1990 it was down to 7.6%. The fall-off in Latin began even earlier and although numbers are declining more slowly, the abandonment of Latin by two or three large academic schools would reduce the numbers dramatically. The issue, interestingly, does not now seem to relate to "relevance", but to the Latin *language*. The recent introduction of Classical Studies, first as a subject and then for the Form VII Bursaries Examination has been surprisingly popular. In 1990, more seventh form students studied Classical Studies than *all* LOTE enrolments added together (3,341, as opposed to 2,546).

Powerful recent questioning of the value of learning French (Callister and Haines, 1991; Crocombe et al., 1991), has added to the concerns of some principals, who feel considerable public pressure to introduce - especially - Japanese. That such a move should be considered more carefully, even if economics can be taken as the imperative of the 90s, has been argued elsewhere (Peddie, 1991b). The rise of Japanese does offer powerful support for Hypothesis Two. The public pressure is reportedly strongly linked to perceptions of job opportunities, and principals already concerned about falling rolls have made comments to the researcher such as, "If we don't offer Japanese, we'll lose students to [school X]".

It is important here to separate the rhetoric from the reality. First, very few students from secondary school Japanese programmes appear to be heading for jobs where the language can be used (Capper, 1991). Secondly, the notion that boys in particular are taking Japanese to get jobs in international trade is belied by

the fact that in Form VII Japanese, the traditional pattern of girls taking a language is maintained. In 1990 73% of seventh form Japanese students were female (though the percentage was even higher for French and German).

The other language to experience a sharp rise is te reo Maori. Enrolments seemed to reach a plateau from about 1987-90, but since the late 1970s the numbers have risen by 40-50%. The explanations for this are relatively straightforward. Maori language and culture have been experiencing a major resurgence in recent decades. Legal recognition of te reo Maori as an official language in the Maori Language Act of 1987, the phenomenal expansion of te kohanga reo (Maori pre-school "language nests") from the early 1980s, and considerable attention to the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi by the 1984-90 Labour government have all combined with public discussion, reports, publications and advances in almost every area. This has not been without some significant Pakeha backlash, particularly over the status of te reo Maori. As well, the current (1992) National government has been less strong on pursuing issues raised by consideration of the Treaty. The place of te reo Maori in New Zealand's national languages policy, projected to be promulgated in 1992, is still quite unclear.

The point for the present discussion *is* however clear. Knowledge of te reo Maori may provide important future job opportunities, but at the present time it is seldom considered in that light. The expansion of school programs in te reo Maori, therefore, suggests that the second hypothesis needs some modification. The teachers' and principals' questionnaires are now examined for further ideas on this.

Analysis of these questionnaires reveals some interesting points in relation to the present discussion. First, about two-thirds of both groups are against compulsory Maori language in the secondary school, although a number added suggestions that it should be compulsory in primary schools. Only 11% of the languages teachers did not favour some compulsion for te reo Maori *or* another LOTE, but 42% of principals were against compulsion in any form. This last result can of course be turned

around; more than half the principals would favour either te reo Maori or a LOTEM to be compulsory.

The questionnaire did not ask either group of respondents to nominate which languages should be taught, but it did seek opinions on the idea that fostering languages of trade should be one goal of a national policy on languages. Only half the teachers and 41% of the principals agreed. A related question asked whether a national policy should specify priority languages for primary and secondary schools. About half of both groups agreed (47% of teachers, and 55% of principals).

There was strong support for TESOL for new arrivals who lack English, but mixed reactions on the idea of transitional bilingual programmes. While those opposed to these programmes may have been objecting to the notion of their being transitional, only 46% of teachers and 41% of principals were in favour. It should be added that about 30% of both groups were unsure. Questions on the role and place of te reo Maori drew the strongest additional comments. Just under a third of principals and 40% of teachers agreed with the notion that Maori should be equal in status to English "in all areas of government". This may be considered a surprisingly high positive response by some, but it is one which indicates how much recent progress has been made. Nevertheless, two-thirds of the principals and half the languages teachers wanted all compulsory core subjects (which include mathematics, science and social studies), to be taught exclusively in English.

Interviews with some twenty-five secondary school principals in the course of two other projects suggest that principals tend to have quite strong personal views about languages, but that they are also acutely aware of current public interest in Japanese. A few still seemed quite unaware of the problems involved in training qualified teachers of these new languages, or in "translating" an existing teacher of French or German into a teacher of Japanese (*Languages for All*, 1991; Peddie, 1991d).

Most of those interviewed had positive reactions to the teaching of te reo Maori, but expressed some hesitation over making the language compulsory. In support of his view, one

principal produced a community curriculum survey in which te reo Maori headed the list of subjects parents wanted *less* of - and this in a district where there are significant numbers of Maori, and where the principal is strongly in favour of extending Maori language and culture in the school. Several principals did favour compulsory exposure to te reo Maori *or* a LOTEM in the junior forms of the school, a position favoured by about 20% of the principals in the 1991 questionnaire.

Interviews with these principals made it clear that several other factors were vital in decisions on their languages program. These included: the strength of the current languages staff and programs; the way curriculum decisions are made within the schools; and concerns over the ethnic make-up of the student population.

It is apparent that if these factors are generally applicable, the second hypothesis needs to be much more complex. Indeed, the analysis suggests that rather than a "hypothesis", a decision-making model might be more appropriate. This model would need to include all of the factors discussed above.

Before attempting to construct such a model, it was thought desirable to examine - however briefly - at least one other setting to see whether other significant variables need to be considered. School language programs in the state of Victoria, Australia will now be reviewed for this purpose.

Languages in Schools: Victoria, Australia

As already noted, Victoria has three main school "systems": the government schools; the Catholic (systemic) schools; and the independent schools (including a few Catholic schools). Each of these systems functions more or less independently, though there is clearly also much interdependence in terms of curriculum offerings and other policy areas. This is partly because of the influence of (mainly Commonwealth) funded programmes, partly because of the Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) which is the entry qualification to university, and partly because of the common cultural and social context in which all three systems operate. Government schools have about two-thirds of all students, with the

Catholic system having 23% and the independent schools the remaining 10%. The independent schools do have a much higher proportion of secondary students, however, some 22%.

Because these three systems do operate somewhat independently, and because the system of gathering annual statistics differs from that of New Zealand, trends in language programs are less readily available. What follows, then, is a less comprehensive summary than that presented for New Zealand.

The current situation in languages reveals some interesting differences from New Zealand. First, there is much more language teaching in primary schools. About 40,000 primary school students were studying a LOTE for a minimum of three hours a week in government schools in 1991, a number representing about 13% of the primary school population (Victoria. Ministry of Education and Training, 1991). As well, some eighteen languages were represented in these programmes (Martin, 1991). Martin quotes data from 1989 showing that Italian was by far the most common language taught, with 63% of all language students. Greek (7%), Japanese (7%) and German (6%) were the next most widely taught. Insertion programmes, funded mainly by ethnic community organizations, accounted for programs covering 29% of all students, but these programs tended to operate less frequently than the 51% of programs operated by supernumerary teachers; 68 mins/week, compared with 181 mins/week).

In government secondary schools, fewer than a third of all students are studying a LOTE. In 1990, 77% of all students in Year 7 were learning a LOTE, but this decreased to 3.7% in the final year (Year 12). This compares badly even with the 11.7% studying a LOTE at this level in New Zealand. In brief, a higher percentage of Victorian government secondary students are exposed to a LOTE, but far fewer carry on past the years when many schools make such a study compulsory (Years 7 and 8). Languages commonly taught include French, German, Japanese, Indonesian, Italian and Modern Greek, with a wide range of new languages emerging.

Over thirty languages are offered in Saturday or after hours programmes by the Victorian School of Languages (VSL), now

classified as a government school. It is important to note that about half the entries to the VCE in languages are students of the VSL, many of them native speakers, or from homes in which the language is spoken.

The proportion of students taking language courses in Catholic primary schools is also much higher than in New Zealand. Italian is again by far the most commonly taught language, while programmes in Modern Greek, Arabic, Vietnamese and other languages are also found. In secondary schools close to 60% (about 45,000), of all students study a language, with most of these in the traditional European languages of French, Italian, German and, to a lesser degree, Spanish. In 1991, some 4,900 students were studying an Asian language, with Japanese the most popular, followed by Indonesian. One school taught Vietnamese.

The independent schools have in recent years kept detailed statistics on language programmes in their schools (Association of Independent Schools of Victoria, 1990, 1991). These figures show that independent school students take languages programs more frequently than those in other systems, especially in the senior years of the secondary school. In 1990, just over 45% of all independent primary school students were studying one of thirteen LOTE, with Hebrew, French, Chinese, Japanese and German each having between 10 and 20% of those involved. In independent secondary schools, about 70% of all students studied at least one LOTE, with about 20% still taking a LOTE in the final year.[3] The data for 1991 show that the numbers studying a LOTE at both primary and secondary school have risen (while government school numbers have declined).

The major language studied in independent secondary schools remains French, with 29.4% of all such secondary students in 1990. Other significant languages include German (13%), Japanese (8.4%), and Chinese (5.5%). Latin, Modern Greek, Indonesian and Hebrew all have between 2% and 4% of secondary enrolments. The 1991 data show that Japanese had risen to 11%, Chinese and Indonesian had risen to 7.1% and 4.5% respectively, while French, German and Latin had all experienced a drop in numbers.

There are three further critical factors which are about to affect school language programmes in Victoria. In May, 1991, the Minister of Education and Training announced that a LOTE was to be compulsory for Years 7-10 (equivalent of up to the end of Form V in New Zealand), beginning with Year 7 in 1992 (*Victoria: Education for Excellence*, 1991). This announcement applies to government schools, but research interviews in late 1991 suggested that the other systems are very likely to increase their efforts in language teaching as a result. This ministerial announcement has interesting political overtones, given the ways in which political considerations regularly form part of social policy-making (Peddie, 1989).

The second factor comes from the release in September, 1991 of the new Australian national languages policy *Australia's Language*, 1991). States now choose eight priority languages from a list of fifteen. These languages are funded by the Commonwealth at $A300 for every student completing a Year 12. The money is to be paid to the Ministry (for government schools), the Catholic Education Office, and/or individual independent schools. This could easily shape the future of senior language teaching programs in Victoria. The state has selected its eight languages: French, German, Italian, Modern Greek Japanese, Chinese, Indonesian and Vietnamese. Particularly affected could be schools in the independent system which, for example, teach Hebrew as the main language.

The third factor arises from the same policy announcement. Funding for ethnic (after hours) schools is to be given to "host" government and non-government school systems, instead of being paid on a per capita basis to the schools/organizations themselves. The effects of this policy change are at the time of writing (January, 1992) quite uncertain.

Languages in Schools: Comparative Discussion

In both countries, there is a trend towards more teaching of Asian languages, particularly Japanese. In both countries this is linked

to perceptions of the trade and tourism importance of the language. The rise in numbers of students studying Chinese in Victoria, however, may simply reflect the much larger Chinese-speaking population of the state. With New Zealand's Chinese population reported to have risen by 50% (from about 20,000 to 30,000) in the year ending July, 1991, it will be interesting to see whether this is translated into a sharp rise in the teaching of Chinese.

In both countries there is a continuation of the decline in traditional European languages, notably Latin, but also French. Victorian figures show a decline in Italian and Modern Greek, perhaps as more third and fourth generation migrants switch permanently to English. The corresponding large migrant groups in New Zealand have been in quite a different position. The largest NESB European groups, the Dutch and Yugoslavs have never had their languages taught in more than isolated classes. The large more recently arrived Pacific Island groups, especially the Samoans, are just beginning to exert pressure to have their languages introduced into schools. Previously, their primary goal was to equip their children with a high level of English, and they were confident in the ability of the home and the church to maintain the home language. Ironically, it appears that achievement of both goals may be difficult. Certainly New Zealand offers little in the way of TESOL (Peddie, 1987, 1991d), and the erosion of home languages through the constant pressure of English is not at all surprising.

A further difference lies in the role played by examinations. In New Zealand, the continued presence of School Certificate as a national examination in Form V (Year 10), influences which languages will be taught. In Victoria this is much less of a problem, as over thirty languages are available in the VCE, and there is no mid-school national examination.

Overall, it is perhaps surprising to find that the proportions of students studying languages in the secondary school is not more heavily weighted in Victoria's favour, particularly in the senior classes of government schools. It will be interesting, however, to see whether the end result of the new Commonwealth financial

incentive is translated into a rapid rise in language students at the state level.

Victoria has certainly many more language programs and students at the primary level than New Zealand. It is worth remembering, however, that most of these languages programs are supported by supernumerary staff or by ethnic organizations. The linkage of such languages with secondary programmes - sometimes involving quite different languages - is an issue which has occupied more than one policy officer in the Victorian Ministry in recent years. Both countries suffer from being a long way from countries where English is not spoken, but both have the advantage of large NESB groups some of whose languages offer instrumental benefits. The extent to which these considerations come into individual school planning is quite unclear.

Languages in Schools: A Model

The Victorian data add two major factors to what emerged from analysis of languages in new Zealand schools. First, it is clear that direct government intervention can occur in at least two ways: by ruling on compulsion; and by manipulating programmes through financial incentives. Both of these aspects need to be built into any theoretical model of school language provision.

Secondly, the presence of different school systems needs to be taken into account, particularly in places like Victoria where there is considerable curriculum freedom. The "culture" and ideology of each system are clearly influential in Victoria. The independent schools appear to be working towards an ideal of educational excellence which is somewhat more akin to the historical model of European culture than either of the other systems. At the same time, they are by no means ignoring contemporary developments. The Catholic system has a strong commitment to community language programmes, but is reportedly investigating stronger support for Asian language programmes, which tend to be perceived at least in part as economically desirable.

The government system appears to have no clear philosophy on which languages to support, other than its selection of the eight priority languages. This selection is an interesting blend of traditional, community and economically relevant languages. It is not easy to tell whether the government is genuinely trying to foster all languages, or whether they are merely trying to get as much money as possible from the Commonwealth policy.

Taking all the New Zealand and Victorian data into account the following influences appear to be currently at work in school languages programmes.

1. Formal pressure from government: compulsion
2. Informal pressure from government: e.g. encouragement by financial incentives, strong curriculum and methods support for languages.
3. The degree of freedom experienced by individual schools and school systems to determine their own language programs.
4. Some traditional notions of "education" in which learning languages is a good thing because knowing a language is part of being "properly educated".
5. Pressure from the government, business and the school community, for the introduction of (economically) "useful" languages like Japanese.
6. School/community specific pressures to introduce te reo Maori (not always in areas of high density Maori population).
7. School-specific pressures from (a) principals with strong personal convictions about languages and/or (b) teachers anxious to maintain their jobs and to continue teaching the language(s) they know.
8. *Awareness* on the part of the principal and the school of government, economic and/or community pressures.
9. A decision to act because of one or more of these pressures.
10. The school's own curriculum planning and decision-

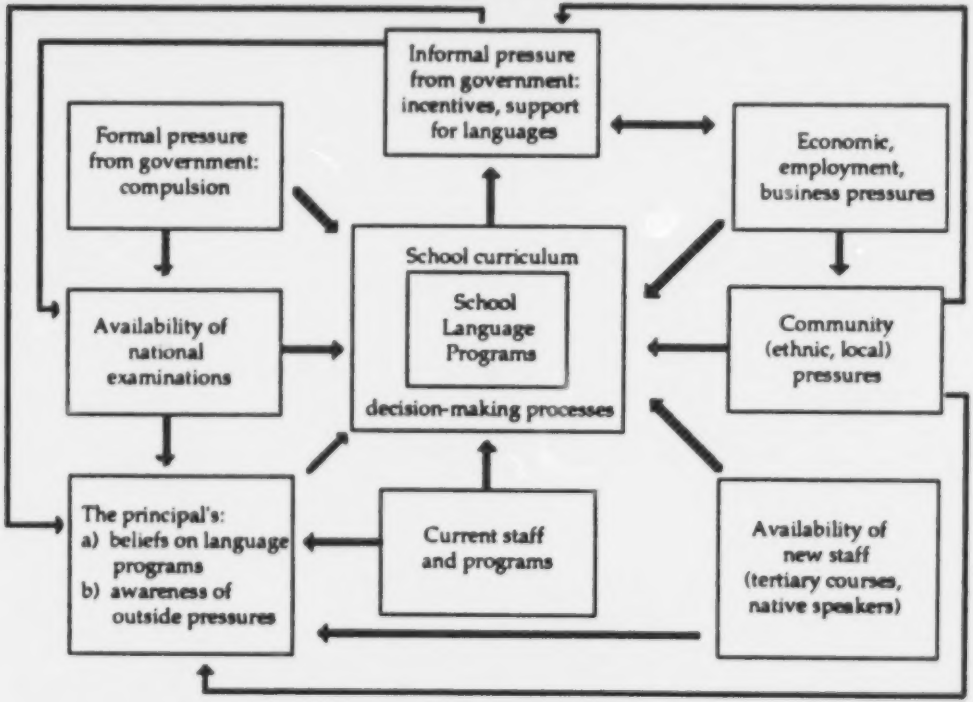
Informal pressure from government: incentives, support for languages
Formal pressure from government: compulsion
Economic, employment, business pressures
School curriculum
School Language Programs
decision-making processes
Availability of national examinations
Community (ethnic, local) pressures
The principal's:
a) beliefs on language programs
b) awareness of outside pressures
Current staff and programs
Availability of new staff (tertiary courses, native speakers)

Figure 1: School Language Programs: An Exploratory Model

making process (cf. Peddie, 1991e)

11. Current language programmes in the school.
12. Current teaching strengths, and opportunities to appoint new staff or to redeploy existing teachers.
13. The availability of public examinations in present/ proposed languages.
14. Teacher supply, either through tertiary study programs or from the pool of native speakers.

A tentative model to explain school languages programmes can now be developed. This model is presented in Figure One.

Like every model of real-life decision-making, there are a host of variables which might be considered at each step. Nevertheless, the data from Victoria and New Zealand offer some support for the interactions shown in the model. This model should provide a useful template for future research. It will allow researchers to proceed in two main ways. First, data collected from other countries may be used to test the general framework of the model. Secondly, the model may help researchers to focus on particular aspects of language programs in order to extend the analysis and to clarify interactions with other factors. Research of both these kinds may eventually result in a more detailed model to explain languages programs in schools.

Arguably the most productive - and difficult - starting point would be the role played by the school principal, especially in systems like New Zealand and Victoria where the school has considerable curriculum freedom. The role of the principal is one important factor currently being investigated by the researcher in a longitudinal project on junior secondary school curriculum in New Zealand.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has argued that school language programs do not simply happen by accident. In the past, they were linked to middle and upper class perceptions of what constitutes an "educated gentle-

man" and a "cultured lady". In recent years, the shift towards a more instrumental curriculum has been one significant factor in changing language offerings, but this research shows that current programs are as the result of a complex (and shifting) network of factors. Many of these factors interact, resulting in a number of pressure points on principals and school as they seek to provide their own perceptions of the best education for their students.

NOTES

1 The author wishes to acknowledge the support and the financial assistance of the New Zealand Ministry of education, the National Languages & Literacy Institute of Australia and the University of Auckland in the conduct of this study.

2 The language in this section is consciously sexist, to reflect the sexist views of the times.

3 These figures were contained in a draft report to the Catholic Education Office, Victoria. The help of the CEOV is gratefully acknowledged.

4 For these figures and other data I am grateful to Mrs Judy Oakes of AISV, and to the AISV itself for its assistance in the research. Percentages of all students are approximate as they are based on enrolments by language, where some double counting would occur. Full data was available for 1991, but figures for 1990 allow a straight comparison with New Zealand data given in Table One.

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